2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

strongly-flavoured nga-pi, without which no Burman would consider his meal complete. Sometimes the big, fierce-stinging kā-gyin, a species of red ant, is used along with this fish paste, sometimes it is fried in oil by itself. As may be imagined, they have an acid and decidedly pungent flavour about them. Roasted turtle's and iguana's eggs, dried fish, and fried ginger are gourmand's adjuncts. There is a particular objection to the smell of cookery, and when anything is fried in oil, or prepared so as to produce a strong savour, it is always done to leeward of the house, and where the fumes may not reach any other dwelling. Such smells are believed to be very productive of fever. Nothing is ever drunk at meals, but each one, when he has finished, goes to the earthenware jar full of water which stands in a corner of the verandah, and rinses out his mouth. It is a lamentable fact that many Burmans in the low country now drink beer and spirits, but this is never done at meals nor in the house, where, indeed, the wife would not allow it. It is deplorable, because it is drinking for the sake of drinking, and is never done in moderation. The tippling Burman goes to the "toddy-shop" for his liquor, and he does not know when to stop. Brandy of the fiery description known to the British soldier as "fixed bayonets," or "chain-shot," is often drunk, but the usual tipple is "Old Tom." A particularly heady mixture of this with cheap beer is affected by confirmed topers. It is contrary to the national religion, and it does not suit the national temperament.

After meals every one smokes—men, women, and children. Facetious people have declared that Burman babies blow a cloud while they are still at the breast. This is inaccurate. They never indulge till they are able to walk without needing the assistance of their hands, but their mothers give them whiffs long before that. The ordinary Burman cheroot is very mild and has really very little tobacco in it. The full-flavoured article to be seen occasionally in London shops is manufactured entirely for English residents. The se paw-leip, the cigar for home consumption, commonly known as the green cheroot, is very large, from six to eight inches long and about an inch in diameter at one end, tapering to slightly less at the other.

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But in Rangoon it has assumed in recent years a form which gives a great deal of offence to all the more serious people, and is especially condemned by the austere Sulagandis. Instead of having the offerings displayed in their houses and giving them to the yahans when they come round in the grey of the morning, the new fashion with the inhabitants of Rangoon is to carry all the alms to the monastery overnight, set them up in goodly array, there and then hold receptions, sing songs, dance, play musical instruments, and generally turn the quiet monastery into the semblance of an uproarious "penny gaff." This objectionable innovation has gradually arisen out of the practice of a few of the more pious old people who at the end of Lent used to go in the evenings with ahlu for the pyinsin, listen to some pious discourses, or the recitation of some sacred zāt, and then return betimes to bed. But now the frivolous find monks not less carnal-minded than themselves. Subscriptions are raised for weeks beforehand to make a grand display. One of the yahans is asked to grant the zayat near his house for the occasion. Some of the monks of the Thayet-daw kyaung in Godwin Road, which is the chief sinner in this respect, are even so shameless as actually to go touting about for people to take their zayats, or at times even part of the monastery itself.

Then at nightfall, on the full moon, the people begin to troop in. Those who have taken the management of the almsgiving are there before. We enter by one of the little wooden bridges, and come across a pya-that, a presentation spire, immediately, glittering bright in the moonlight and the glaring torches which are gathered thick farther on among the pôngyis' dwelling-places and the mango-trees from which the monastery takes its name. The spire has just been deposited, and the band has barely stopped the music which sounds so strange within the sacred parawun. But there is more coming that will be a far greater shock to up-country notions of religious propriety. The first place we come to is a zayat, and Maung Maung, the dispenser of hospitality, recognises us and calls us up. All his female friends are arranged in a row at the back, dressed in their finest, and before them, just as at the Tasaungmôn alms-

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feast, are heaped up piles of fruits, savoury curries, cakes, biscuits, and sweetmeats of all kinds, intended for the monks; while scattered about are great *repoussé* silver bowls full of sherbet, gold and silver cups, lamps, mirrors, and all the familiar adornments, fit enough for a private house, but singularly out of place where a gay piece of tapestry hung up barely conceals the image at the eastern side of the rest-house. Maung Maung offers us some lemonade, and we light cheroots, exchange a few compliments with the ladies, and pass on, just as a noisy half-dozen of young Englishmen from one of the mercantile houses come scrambling up the ladder-like steps. It would be well if these gentlemen would remember that each of the houses is to all intents and purposes a private assembly for the night, and that, though the host always welcomes them, he understands English, and does not by any means relish the mocking comments which are lavished on everything, and still less is inclined to approve of the criticisms passed on the ladies. But then there are so few Englishmen in Burma who understand the very shortest sentence in the language that they may be pardoned if they mistake for a promiscuous saturnalia what is nominally a religious ceremony. We leave them joking with Maung Maung and the hostess, as she offers them some beer—beer in a monastery! But then it is known that Englishmen will be there, and the Burman's notion is that an Englishman only leaves off drinking beer when he drinks brandy, so this last indignity is not objected to by the yahans.

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Farther on we come to the place we are specially in search of. The master of ceremonies here is our friend Maung Po Si, a Patama Byan, a certificated theologian and long resident in Mandalay, qualified, therefore, to be a yahan himself, and from his previous experiences, one would think, not at all likely to countenance such open contempt of the provisions of the Wini, which treatise his success in the above-mentioned "theological tripos" implies that he knows by heart. But "Mr. Grandfather Oil" is very emphatically in the world of kāma; he is far from having beaten down the passions, and his place is the most startlingly secular of them all. He has got the kyaung of a myizzi mati, a pôngyi who has been ten Lents in the Order, and

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ought therefore to scorn such desecration for any purpose whatever, and certainly should not be tempted by the offer of a feast for his palate. But the fact remains that not only has he given up the front part of his kyaung, all but the elevated dais on the eastern side, where the images stand and visitors are received, but there is actually a play going on, trumpets braying, drums beating, and the bamboo clappers sounding high over all. It is a zāt, a birth-story certainly, but that does not make it any less a sin for the pôngyi to be so near, and with all those thirty pretty girls looking on too. The monk is behind the curtain which shuts off the undesecrated part of the building, it is true, but he can hardly be asleep with all that music, surely, and it is a crime for a member of the Order to listen to music. Yet who is to condemn him to penance when the prior's house is very little better? In some of the kyaungs, indeed, the younger yahans take very little trouble to conceal the fact that they are looking through the chinks of the slight hangings which cut off their sleeping-places from the noisy throng on the other side. The Englishmen, when they come round, push aside the kalagas to see what is behind, stumble over the peeping postulants, and scare the conscience-stricken "ascetics" almost out of their senses, under the impression that it is a bilu who has been enabled to gain access, and is going to devour them incontinently. Nevertheless there is no check in the revelry. It goes on until far into the night, and increases in noise the later it gets. The liquor [273] which has been brought for expected visiting foreigners cannot be left behind in the kyaungs; they are not low enough for that yet. Consequently, the laymen must drink it. The result is that as time goes on there are quarrels and fights; and in this very Thayet-daw kyaung in the Thadingyut of 1879 a man was stabbed and died within the limits of the parawun. Little wonder that the strict Sulagandis are gaining over many of the more respectable inhabitants of Rangoon, for even this horror has not diminished the popularity of the wāgyut alms-feast.

The noise and hubbub go on till far into the morning, and when at last the people go, the monks may be supposed to have a little rest, for they can hardly have slept much

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before, however steadily they lay on their mats. The offerings are eaten next morning, and it is greatly to be feared that there are many abstentions from the morning's round of alms-begging. Such dissipation must scatter to the winds any merit acquired by diligent piety and meditation in the long weeks of Lent. It is only to be seen in Rangoon and a few other places where many foreigners congregate. The description is from the "country mouse" point of view.

In country towns, revels of this kind are never seen, and even in Mandalay, though there are festivities in abundance, the monasteries are never invaded in this scandalous way. The difference is that between the primitive Buddhist and the highly sophisticated latitudinarian. A more harmless and decidedly prettier custom is the illumination, called taungpyi pwè, of the pagodas and the town. In Rangoon a very fine effect is produced by hanging the Su[illegible] Pagoda, in Fytche Square, all round with Chinese lanterns, from the base up to the top of the thabeit-hmauk, where the body of the shrine begins to narrow into the spire. The rings of coloured light narrowing upwards in a veritable pyramid of fire, produce one of the finest sights of the kind to be seen in the country. The street lamps, however, somewhat handicap the simple means of illumination open to the inhabitants, and to see the illumination of a town at its best one must go to a place where there are no street lamps. There all the pagodas and many of the private houses are lighted up, and the contrast to the ordinary gloom is startling. Candles are placed on posts at intervals of ten paces in every street, and the sè-eing gaungs have very plain-worded instructions as to what will happen to them if any of the lights in front of the ten houses of which they have charge go out. Mandalay Hill at such a time was a fine sight and still is, though it is no more a royal town. The two covered ways which lead up the steep uneven sides to the pagoda and the richly gilt Gautama on the top, look like streams of flame, or fiery serpents from the haunted nat-taung, under the shade of the Shan hills. But the monasteries which cluster close in to the foot of the sacred hill are all as dark and still as on any night in the middle of the Wā. No unseemly orgies are permitted there. In the town, on the

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
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> ....Nowadays in certain localities of China, the performance of music has come to be looked down on as a menial and unscholarly vocation.... although this aversion is not universal in China, music has been intellectually neglected for a long time. As a result music has become unmusical in China. And this in turn has increased the contempt in which it is held by the educated classes. It is a vicious circle.".....

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I would not have allowed myself to be thus catapulted into the problem of the Burmese scale were it not so necessary to emphasise the very sharp line of demarcation between classical evidence and musical evidence. Too long have we taken shelter behind the façade of ancient Indian culture. [114]

With regard to the most important real evidence of the written records, what have we to rely on? Only one MS in *parabeik* form—~~sgcoo~~ *Naralèkha*. U San Win himself pointed out that no other Burmese work on Burmese music had ever been known to exist. Until one has seen that *parabeik* one would be foolish to talk about the Burmese scale with any conviction. The best that can be done is to proceed from the known to the unknown and talk of clues rather than discoveries.

If it were possible, a scientific survey of the principal Burmese musical instruments should establish the one Burmese scale which is common to the whole country, or rather to which all the scales all over the country approximate. Everything about us is approximate. Our tunes, having no notation, are always at variance. Western people talk of our lack of method. Yet..... 533 183

> " The elements of tone and rhythm have been combined and recombined, and have left the theory a tangled mass of forgotten systems and the practice an ineradicable instinct. The veneration for the past because of its remoteness, the mental attitude which looks away from the categories of time and space and turns its attention upon the essence of the thing itself, the faith which links the present closely with the time when the gods walked the earth and still points to the visible imprints of their feet—all these have united to personify every element of their music, and piously to preserve names and attitudes which have long lost their meaning; so that much of the theory is clear only to those who can read myth. Nor on the practical side has extemporization, as it is understood, been learned in a day, nor even in the life-time of any individual.....But it is age-long practice rather than memory which has placed at the command of the best singers that inexhaustible wealth of variation with which they make a melody their own, that gift of improvisation which takes on an epic quality, as all crafts do that are handed down from father to son. To walk on the Old Trunk Road is, it has been said, to step into a chapter of Genesis; and in the same way we catch, in these immemorial cadences, the very spirit of the rhapsodists of Homer. Their music is old, but with an age like the eternal youth of Greece, not with a second childhood like the stereotyped formulas of the Troubadours."[1]

1. Fox Strangways' Introduction to *Music of Hindostan*.

cloth, small enough to keep mosquitos out. The other kind was made of plain cloth to keep out the smallest insects. The nets are rectangular for a single bed, square for a double. They are suspended over the bed on a wooden framework and tucked under the mattress. Pathwa: three were used by the family and two kept in reserve. Each lasted 4 or 5 years. The reserve nets cost Rs. 60/- each, the others Rs. 40/- or 45/- each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathwa, this is used by U Myaing and his wife. The rest of the family have none. Two are desired.

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TA-BYET-SEE, broom: The hand broom is used to brush out dust and dirt from the floor of the house. It is about 2 feet long, 2 inches in diameter and consists of bent over bu nches of stiff reeds bound at the top by a more flexible reed strip. The one used in camp cost 12 annas in Rangoon.

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Burmese Concepts about the Home.

The following Burmese ideas about the home were secured mainly from Ko Maung Than, my research assistant.

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The Burmese regard the KIN-YAR (home place) with great love, and as the most essential feature of life. The head of a family will frequently admonish: "My young ones let us remain with our nest intact and our eggs uncracked", this is also a common prayer. Th ideal is to preserve the family home with necessary repairs in its original form. Wooden (teak) houses are preferred to bamboo. The husband and wife are partners in the ownership of the home which they start at marriage. Indeed, the word for "marriage" KIN-DAUNG-PYU (Home-separately-build) emphasize the importance of building a home upon starting a family. In villages the mother and children spend almost all of their time in and around the home. Since the Burmese are especially sedentary, short journeys being unusual and infrequent events, the house is the spot where he lives and dies. It is furthermore his "castle" and place of security within which he is "ruler".

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Each house is under the direct protection of MIN MAHA-GIRI one of the 37 major nats of Burma. He controls the fortunes of the family and in return is revered. A coconut, the symbol of MIN-

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Analysis of wearing apparel used by U Myaing's family.

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Fifty three items of wearing apparel and personal accoutrement were recorded. These are divided into three large catagories:

(1) Objects used in Pathwe but not in camp.
(2) Objects used in camp but not in Pathwe.
(3) Objects used in both localities.

Twenty nine items used in Pathwe were not used in camp. 55% of the Pathwe complex had been discontinued for a variety of reasons. The bulk of the objects were not replaced due to lack of funds. Many items such as umbrellas, towels, leather sandals were needed and desired. Some objects, such as men's jackets, headbands, silk longyis and associated underwear pants, men's bamboo hats, men's hair dressing comb, jewelry and parasols are recognized as luxury items. Both the ceremonial and social ocassions in which such luxuries assumed the proportions of necessities had diminished or disappeared so that the desire for them is no longer as strong. This is reflected in the statements that some of the luxuries were no longer desired (hair dressing) or that smaller quantities (silk longyis) would be adequate.

It is interesting to note that whereas both U Myaing and the ladies had the same number of items in Pathwe (26 respectively) - in camp U Myaing has only 7 items or 28% of the Pathwe complex. The ladies, however, have 16 items or 59% of the Pathwe complex. This data suggests that the women's standards are less flexible than [562] the men's. In order to be respectable the women have to have certain items. Whereas, U Myaing's demand depends more on his immediate situation. If this is so, then it follows that the men's standard [183] might expand more rapidly under opulent conditions - with sets of special socio-ceremonial garb (headband, silk longyi, jacket, jewelry including western items(Gillette razor, topee, western jackets and shirts).

Only three objects were used in camp but not in Pathwe. The [177] rubber-tyred wooden sandals are simply new varieties of an old form used in Pathwe - a cheap and popular urban form due to abundance of tyre-rubber following the war. The earrings with white stones and set of silver buttons are also substitute varieties, not innovations.

302 on top of the head. Scented hair oil is used by both sexes on
177 special occasions.
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291 The HTAMEIN is regarded as "unworthy" for a man to touch. A
562 severe insult is for a wife to request her husband to bring her
●183 HTAMEIN or to wash it. Drying HTAMEINS in the front of the house is never allowed; and it is strictly forbidden for this garment to touch any pongyi utensils. Parents instruct their boys never to pass under the strings of a line of which HTAMEINS are drying as such is thought to take away the masculine powers, and render the tattooed charms ineffective. Men and women's clothes are washed and stored separately.

[593] When a son neglects his mother after marriage she will complain with rage that he has not come out of the HTAMEIN and is under the HTAMEIN government of his wife.

291 Women usually wear solid black HTAMEINS during menstruation.
841 Boys, in jest, inform one of their companions that he may now become serious when the girl of his choice appears in a black dress for the first time.

Slippers of both sexes are regarded as "dirty" objects and are left outside of the houses. They are strictly prohibited in pagoda enclosures and land. When a girl is angry at a teasing boy (or quarreling with a woman) she will threaten to slap his face with her sandal. This is a double insult since the head is regarded as a particularly sacred part of the body. Barbers must ask permission and apologise for touching the heads of their customers.

291 Western clothing has a higher status than Burmese clothing in
177 certain situations and on certain occasions especially where western
554 people are present in suits. However, for most occasions, everyday or special, the Burmese costume is preferred. When abroad the Burmese men usually wear western garb. The wearer of western clothes

[186] is often open to the taunt that he is "Bo Gyi (term for Englishmen) made in Burma". There is a strong feeling in all cases to be "properly" dressed and not to stand out from the rest of the group. This tendency is stronger in men than women who with their jewels and fine silks attempt to rival each other in a contest for social posi-

[562] tion. Burmese girl students who go abroad almost invariably wear their native costumes.

583 food and refreshment might be provided. After this the couple may put up either at the youth's home or the girl's home.

[178] [185] In modern times there have been very few cases of people from the villages getting properly married. In the past there used to be [584] many marriages through the agency of match-makers, but now most people elope. U Myaing estimates that only about two couples in a hundred get married first. Daw Aw Zar also eloped with U Myaing's father. (U Myaing was not very sure of this and so called out the question to Daw Aw Zar, who replied "Hae-mathi-bar-bu"; "Hae - I don't know.") U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing eloped, not because her parents would have raised any objections, but because it had become the usual thing to do. Out of all the marriages contracted by members of U Myaing's extended family (over 60 families), only seven were conducted with proper rites and ceremonies. These were the wealthy members of the family who had their status to consider.

584 U Myaing was in love with Ma Aye Myaing for a period extending two years prior to their elopement. He made a practice of visiting her house and of going with her to Pwes and entertainments, in the company of a large group of other people. Her parents never allowed her to go out alone with him. "That is the nature of parents - they will not allow that."

> "Of course there were occasions when we met, just the two of us; but that was more through accident than design. For instance, I used to meet her on the village street. There are men who ask for assignations from girls, but they are men who do not have consideration for the sisters of other men. I am not one of those. When we were ready to elope, I told Ma Aye Myaing that I was coming for her on such and such a night. Some daughters repeat this to their parents, "Mother, I am about to go along with him" and Ma Aye Myaing was one such. I also told my parents."

583 On the appointed night, at about nine or ten o'clock, U Myaing collected nine or ten of the beaus of the locality of help prevent any possible trouble on the part of the jealous suitors from the girl's village, made his way to Ma Aye Myaing's house and brought her along with him. An elopement is a joyous affair and U Myaing informs us that he used to often accompany friends when they went to elope with their girls. The girl is taken, either on foot, or by bullock cart if the distance is great, to the youth's village; and if they happen

511 increasingly cognizant.

178 Food: The relative quality of food has remained the same but
722 many expensive items have been discarded. Cheap foods when known
369 previously have been elevated to importance in the camp diet but no previously unknown foods have been accepted - the new trifles which have become popular with the family are close enough in taste to the Pathwe trifles no longer available. Many foods which were secured free in Pathwe now cost money and have been discarded or reduced in quantity. The diet is reduced close to the essentials.

Social and ceremonial activities: The active life in which the family was involved in a small folk community has given way to life in an urban community where the major consideration is gaining a livelihood. But the new life is promising and exciting and retains the basic activities of the village.

Concluding Analysis

121 Some preliminary conclusions can be drawn from this particular set of circumstances; also the data suggests hypothesis of wider application to Burmese culture specifically and human societies generally.

●185 Nature of the case: The case is clearly one of reduction in standard of living where the pattern of living remains unbroken. As such, certain deductions concerning the flexibility of the pattern can be drawn. The general situation is a contraction where items were sloughed-off as the pattern approached a minimum situation. The extreme level beyond which the pattern would have broken and/or the family ceased to exist was not reached. Data on such cases would be most valuable in extending this study. For example, I heard of a case supposedly during the Japanese occupation where a girl became too poor to afford a longyi and had to use gunny-sacks for clothing. The story goes that this girl committed suicide. Also, during the war some families are reported to have been reduced to eating "only rice and ngapi" - apparently the irreducible condition. Data on families expanding economically would also be necessary to carry this type of study in the other direction. U Myaing's case gives data on the flexibility of the Burmese culture pattern under certain circumstances from a median point of average standard of living, to a point near the minimum standard.

183 The conditions under which this flexibility was observed were
369 those of a displaced family uprooted from a folk society and replanted in an refugee community within an urban society. As such the case

gives important data on the process of urbanising villagers - the country people are an important group in the growth of the Burmese section of Rangoon; probably a large section of the present refugee population will stay in the future.

The concepts of pattern of living and standard of living: The Burmese pattern of living, or any culture pattern, is a universe of beliefs and practices manifested in acts and artifacts. The analogy of the "Universe" is a useful one in that it recognises a guiding body of understandings that controls the whole of the society (like "laws" of Universe) while emphasising the particular understandings that govern the various groups or classes of the society (like the "laws" of the Solar and other systems within the Universe). The "solar systems" are the standard levels of operations forming a comprehensive set of forces within itself. Families, like U Myaing's have a mobility, in the case understudy a forced change, which takes them out of one standard system into another. The adjustments which they undergo reflects the "laws" which control the various standard levels as well as the basic concepts controlling the whole of the society.

Each belief and practice has a range of expressions which can be defined. The particular expression practiced by a family is the standard or level of a phenomenon capable of expansion or contraction within prescribed limits. The ultimate limits are defined by the total range of expressions for the culture as a whole. But the practical limits for a family are defined by the possibilities of the society segment (community) in which they find themselves. Thus, the range of U Myaing's possibilities of expression are much greater in Rangoon than they were in Pathus and greatly exceed his original ideas of what was possible. He may, for example, become a highly westernised political leader - although this seems unlikely in terms of his expectations. The westernised, urban spheres of Burmese culture is now opened to the family.

U Myaing is motivated by the basic expectations of the Burmese culture at a level applicable to his situation in terms of the possibilities of his social environment. In Pathus, he was a fisherman and aspired to those things that fishermen should. In camp, he was at